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The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXIII. *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1865-1877). By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 378.)

THE frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of Thaddeus Stevens. Seven maps assist the exposition in various ways. There are twenty-two chapters, the last an invaluable Critical Essay on Authorities, naming and appraising all the important documents on Reconstruction now accessible. There is an author's preface and an editor's introduction.

Chapters I. and II. deal with the Southern whites and state governments, and with the negroes, as factors in the post-bellum situation at the South; III., IV. and V. with the presidential and the congressional policy for reconstruction; VI. and VII. with the actual process thereof; IX. and X. with various domestic and international matters from the war to 1873. Chapters XI. to XVIII. consider negro suffrage, evil social, economic and political conditions, South and North, and the Southern upheaval bringing suppression of black suffrage; while XIX., XX. and XXI. detail the Hayes-Tilden presidential struggle and electoral commission.

Mr. Dunning's book is of extraordinary excellence. If his style in the earlier chapters is at points a bit cumbrous, it is forcible and smooth enough as he warms to his work. His mastery of the subject and of its literature is ideally thorough. His analysis of causes and situations is keen and correct. He admirably seizes and states essential problems, "nutshell" explanations of imbroglios and knotty points being his forte. The leading episodes and questions connected with reconstruction, the attempted impeachment of President Johnson, the Credit Mobilier, the Whisky Ring fight, the campaign of 1872, the many puzzles long attaching to the 1876 election, and so on, receive here the neatest brief and accurate presentation extant. The account of the great court decisions touching reconstruction is peculiarly valuable.

Both subjects and men are treated with eminent fairness and justice. Few will longer balk at the author's view that the Lincoln-Johnson project for rehabilitating the Southern states after the war was saner than the "radical and revolutionary" policy brutally pushed through by Congress. The book cordially recognizes the patience, patriotism and, in the main, wisdom shown by the Southern people proper in the terrible and to a great extent, needless sufferings through which they were made to pass.

Dunning gives considerable praise to President Johnson without, however, making him a saint or a sage. Seward's splendid services after the war receive due mention. Stanton he considers (p. 91) a

"strange personage, whose amazing record of duplicity strongly suggests the vagaries of an opium-eater".

The character and administration of President Grant, "a narrow, headstrong and politically untutored military chief", some will think painted too dark, but, we fear, the author is essentially right. He certainly is in his thought of Sumner, who, he says (p. 87) "lived in the empyrean, and descended thence upon his colleagues with dogmas which he discovered there. . . . He would shed tears at the bare thought of refusing to freedmen rights of which they had no comprehension, but would filibuster to the end of the session to prevent the restoration to the southern whites of rights which were essential to their whole conception of life. He was the perfect type of that narrow fanaticism which erudition and egotism combine to produce." Butler, Greeley, John Sherman, Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Wilson and Colfax are freely criticized.

"The failure of the effort to get rid of Johnson was due to the votes of seven senators" who had voted with the radicals. Of the seven, Fessenden, Grimes and Trumbull opposed impeachment "on the highest considerations of statesmanship". Ross and Van Winkle also voted to save the President but subsequently tainted their act by seeking favors from him, "in a suggestive contrast to Fessenden, who declined to endorse a friend's application for a place on the express ground 'that such an act would, under the circumstances, expose me (him) to offensive imputations'".

While much more might be said in praise of Professor Dunning's performance, a word of contrary tenor will perhaps not be amiss.

Would not the title of chapter XVIII., "The Nadir of National Disgrace", read more felicitously thus: "The Acme of National Disgrace", or thus: "The Nadir of National Honor"?

It would seem that no loss but much gain must follow the disuse, in discussing the Civil War and its results, of expressions like "rebel", "conquerors" and "conquered". Pacific terms, equally clear and scientific, are at hand. To the word "rebel", in particular, strong objection is possible on historico-legal grounds.

The criticism of the Supreme Court (p. 256, 257) for what appears on the surface a shifty course in dealing with unconstitutional acts of Congress during reconstruction, seems to us over-severe. The court's procedure under the distressing circumstances will, we believe, be generally pronounced wise.

The author's thought of his field is not quite self-consistent. It wavers between "the process" and "the period" of reconstruction, the treatment not exactly answering either conception. He of course omits much history belonging to the period, yet brings in not a few matters, like the Beecher scandal and the construction of the first transcontinental railway, which are remotely if at all connected with the process of reconstruction.

On the other hand—a worse fault and the only one we find in the book that is at all serious—his presentation falls short at one point of what his task would seem to call for in any view whatever. It is somewhat onesided and “northern”, not in temper or purpose, in both which respects it is commendably broad, but in matter. The extreme and dangerous “bumptiousness” of the freedmen as a cause of Southern troubles is not sufficiently described or emphasized. Also too little effort is made to present from the inside the Southern whites’ reaction; to show how their rise from the stupor of defeat and the menace of black rule was inspired, stimulated, guided, organized—the “underground work” of all sorts that must have been performed in homes, shops, stores, lodges, clubs and other private circles to have led Southern Saxondom to its victorious rally against threatening barbarism. Materials for such a portrayal are no doubt difficult to gather. They exist, however, and can be reached. A chapter or two of this nature displaying the historian’s power as the actual book does would much enhance its value, already great and lasting.

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba. In three volumes. By Captain HERBERT H. SARGENT, U. S. A. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 274; 236; 268.)

THE first of these volumes contains, besides a short preface by the author, a discussion of the strategic problem, including a consideration of the relative strength of the Spanish and American navies and the state of our coast defenses; a historical review of the British descents upon the island of Cuba in 1741 and 1762; and an account of the operations of the American fleet up to the blockading of Cervera’s fleet in Santiago harbor. The second volume describes the military and naval operations from the sailing of the Fifth Corps under Shafter to the destruction of Cervera’s fleet off Santiago. The third volume contains one chapter devoted to the siege and capitulation of Santiago and the re-embarkation of the Fifth Corps, and one of eighty pages made up of general comments on recent changes in the military art, the fortune of war, the military policy of the United States, the navy and the army. The remaining eighty-four pages are appendixes. These are followed by an index, from which such important words as Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Insurgents, Insurrection, Volunteers (except Spanish) are omitted.

Each chapter ends with a section entitled Comments. These, together with the chapter on General Comments, are nearly equal in volume to the narrative portion of the work; together with the appendixes they exceed the narrative portion. The text is illustrated with a dozen excellent maps, which, though they do not generally represent the troops, enable the reader to follow the narrative without difficulty.